



**University of
Zurich**^{UZH}

**Zurich Open Repository and
Archive**

University of Zurich
University Library
Strickhofstrasse 39
CH-8057 Zurich
www.zora.uzh.ch

Year: 2016

Introduction

de Jong, Willemijn ; Kunz, Richard

DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1111/pai.12591>

Posted at the Zurich Open Repository and Archive, University of Zurich

ZORA URL: <https://doi.org/10.5167/uzh-134437>

Book Section

Originally published at:

de Jong, Willemijn; Kunz, Richard (2016). Introduction. In: de Jong, Willemijn; Kunz, Richard. Striking patterns : Global Traces in Local Ikat Fashion. Berlin: Hatje Cantz, 7-16.

DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1111/pai.12591>

STRIKING PATTERNS

Global Traces in Local Ikat Fashion

Publication accompanying the exhibition
"striking patterns. Global Traces in Local Ikat Fashion"
October 21, 2016 – March 26, 2017.



Museum der Kulturen, Basel
www.mkb.ch

© 2016 Hatje Cantz Verlag, Berlin / Museum der Kulturen Basel / Authors
© Images: see image credits

All rights reserved; no part of this publication may be reproduced,
stored in a retrieval system or transmitted in any form or by any
means, electronic, mechanical, photocopying, recording or otherwise,
without prior written permission from the publisher.

Editing: Willemijn de Jong, Richard Kunz
Copy-editing and proofreading: Doris Tranter
Translations German-English: Kristina Mundall, Nigel Stephenson
Picture editing: Willemijn de Jong, Richard Kunz
Graphic design and visual concept: Beat Keusch, Angelina Köpplin-Stützle,
Josephine Peters, Beat Keusch Visuelle Kommunikation, Basel
Lithography: Andreas Muster, mustera, Basel
Printed by: Offsetdruckerei Grammlich, Pliezhausen
Bindings: Josef Spinner Grossbuchbinderei GmbH, Ottersweier
Typeface: Garth Graphic, Agenda
Paper: Munken Polar Rough 120 g/m², Munken Polar Rough 300 g/m²

ISBN: 978-3-7757-4187-3

Published by
Hatje Cantz Verlag GmbH
MommSENstrasse 27
10629 Berlin
Germany
Tel. +49 30 3464678-00
Fax + 49 30 3464678-29
www.hatjecantz.com
A Ganske Publishing Group company

Hatje Cantz books are available internationally at selected bookstores. For more information about our distribution
partners, please visit our website at www.hatjecantz.com.

Cover illustration: Details of men's hip and shoulder wrap
from Timor island (Fig. 95, p. 166) and women's sarong from
Sabu island (Fig. 25, p. 52).

Image credits:

Lorraine V. Aragon: Fig. 97, 98, 99, 100
Joanna Barrkman: Fig. 6, 68, 70, 71, 72
Alfred Bühler, MKB: Fig. 69
Don Cole, Fowler Museum at UCLA: Fig. 4, 7, 18, 74, 75
Peter Damary: Fig. 103
Willemijn de Jong: Fig. 58, 61, 64, 65, 67
Dukas / Splash News: Fig. 102
Roy W. Hamilton: Fig. 5
Omar Lemke, MKB: Cover, Fig. 2, 3, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14,
15, 16, 17, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32,
33, 34, 35, 36, 37, 38, 39, 40, 41, 42, 43, 44, 45, 46, 47, 48, 49, 50, 51,
52, 53, 54, 55, 56, 57, 73, 76, 77, 78, 79, 80, 81, 82, 83, 84, 85,
86, 87, 88, 89, 90, 91, 92, 93, 94, 95, 96
Mancil Photography: Fig. 101
Dieter Spinnler, MKB: Fig. 1
Sabine Wunderlin: Fig. 59, 60, 62, 63, 66

Maps: Beat Keusch Visuelle Kommunikation, Basel

Acronyms:

FMB – Freiwilliger Museumsverein Basel
MKB – Museum der Kulturen Basel, Schweiz
UCLA – University of California, Los Angeles

Introduction

Richard Kunz and Willemijn de Jong

The idea behind this project on the textile art of East Indonesia and East Timor originated through a happy combination of circumstances. For one, the Museum der Kulturen Basel houses an impressive fund of textiles, collected during many research and collecting tours to Indonesia. Alfred Bühler's collecting tour to the Lesser Sunda Islands Timor, Flores and Rote in 1935 was the beginning of an ongoing scientific engagement with textiles and textile techniques (Richard Kunz, pp. 60 ff., discusses Bühler's tour and his research in textiles; Joanna Barrkman, pp. 128 ff., addresses changes in the textile field in Baguia, Timor-Leste, based on the Bühler Collection). On the other hand, Willemijn de Jong has devoted herself intensively to textiles and textile producers in the region of Central Flores since the mid 1980s; over the years she has put together her own collection of ikat textiles with this focus (Paola von Wyss-Giacosa, pp. 70 ff., examines this collection). For a long time we have nourished the wish to put the two collections together in an exhibition and publication project on ikat art from this region. In 2015, with funds from the Georges und Mirjam Kinzel-Fonds, it was finally possible to undertake a research trip in the footsteps of Alfred Bühler to Flores, Rote and Timor, in order to get an overview of the current state of ikat weaving there. We can thus draw on roughly three time frames: 1935, 1985 and 2015.

With the exhibition and this publication we contribute to current research in the area of Southeast Asian textiles. In so doing, it is important to us to refute the preconceived notion that ikat art in East Indonesia and Timor-Leste is slowly dying out, that only textiles of an inferior quality are produced and that ikat weavers have lost their knowledge of the patterns. On our trip we experienced quite the opposite: ikat weaving is alive and dynamic, the weavers know very precisely what they are doing, and masterpieces can still be discovered (Roy W. Hamilton, pp. 17 ff., addresses the debate on patterns and their meanings). It goes without saying that ikat art is subject to constant changes; the global flow of goods, economic constraints and the social interrelations of the weavers are some of the influencing factors. These factors have not necessarily led to the demise of ikat weaving; in Central Flores, for example, it has experienced a striking upswing since the middle of the twentieth century.

Ikat

The term *ikat* designates a technique of textile patterning. Before weaving, yarn is tied (*ikat* in Indonesian means to tie) and dyed; only then is the textile woven. The places that are tied on the yarn are reserved—ikat is a special form of resist dyeing

(Seiler-Baldinger 1994: 148) — and the dye does not penetrate the tied bundles, that is, they keep their original colour. For multi-coloured textiles, the tying and dyeing are correspondingly adjusted and repeated. Thus, the complete pattern is only visible after the weaving. According to which threads are tied, we distinguish between warp ikat (reserving the warp threads), weft ikat (reserving the weft threads) and double ikat (reserving both thread systems).

In East Indonesia and Timor-Leste, ikat — more precisely warp ikat — is one of the most important patterning techniques; using it, weavers attain in their handwoven textiles complex and fascinating ornaments. According to Bühler (1941: 1868), the warp ikat technique in East Indonesia has “found in fact [its] highest expression”. From the 1960s and the 1970s on, ikat textiles from East Indonesia have become known to a wider public and have found their way into private collections.

Hand-dyed and handwoven ikat textiles play a central role in social life in many communities in East Indonesia and Timor-Leste. Whereas in everyday life industrially produced clothing is frequently worn, ikat textiles serve both as clothing and as decoration on festive occasions. Especially in the context of life cycle rituals, such as marriage or funeral ceremonies, locally produced textiles must be worn as festive garb. In addition, they are fixed elements in gift exchanges. For example, when, on the occasion of a wedding, goods are exchanged between the families of the bride and groom, on the bride’s side the most important presents to the groom’s family are handwoven textiles. The same is true at funeral ceremonies. This makes ikat textiles prestigious ritual objects and their creators distinguished artists (de Jong 2011).

Ikat Art

While Alfred Bühler (1943: IX) still speaks of “nameless artisans”, we take another stance. The importance and constant demand for handwoven textiles in East Indonesia and Timor-Leste make the production of a textile anything but an anonymous act of an anonymous craftswoman. Ikat tying and weaving are personal acts of creation, and the weavers are known in their communities and are judged by their individual skills. People everywhere are able to name especially gifted weavers in their communities and can readily recognize their work. Moreover, the most gifted weavers stand out because they constantly vary or invent motifs, patterns and complete designs; they do not only copy patterns from old cloths (de Jong 2011: 58–62; Hamilton 2012: 9ff.). Or as master weaver Mama Ango from the Lio village Nggela in Central Flores puts it: “Every pictorial sarong is unique, I use new motifs or arrangements every time, I must always continue to develop this. As long as I can think and work, I want to make use of my gift and always create new things”.¹ Master weavers like Mama Ango are in a position to get markedly higher prices for their textiles, which are known to be of high quality and expensive; thus their wearers

are seen as affluent women with good taste. For these reasons we are not guided by Western categories of "art" and "handicraft" (Howard 2006), rather we use, following Alfred Gell (1992; 1996; 1998), the terms "artist", "art" and "master weaver" for qualitatively, aesthetically and intentionally compelling ikat textiles and their makers (see in particular de Jong 2011; also Hamilton 2012: 9 ff.). We present six master weavers from Nggela in Central Flores in word and image (pp. 115–127).

Ikat Patterns

Master weavers have always assimilated foreign influences in their patterns, thus they actively take part in processes of globalization, modernity and fashion. At the same time we do not mean—in the context of the exhibition and this publication—"globalization" in the sense of a multinational textile industry with cheap clothing, produced under dubious conditions in low-wage countries. For us, what is central is the cultural exchange, the acquisition and incorporation of the other into one's own. This, too, we consider a form of globalization. With reference to ikat textiles, we focus on the flow of textiles, textile patterns and knowledge across vast geographical regions, especially that prompted by maritime trade, which increased markedly from the sixteenth century on when the Portuguese and Dutch began trading seriously in the area. Since the 1970s it has been above all the travels of Western tourists, who form an inspiration for many weavers.²

Starting at the beginning of the sixteenth century, Portuguese, Malay and Dutch sources³ reported on textiles traded from India to Malaysia and Indonesia, textiles that were highly prized as objects of value, bestowing prestige. In many cases they were silk double ikat cloths, called *patola*,⁴ produced in Gujarat. Old Javanese tax-grant inscriptions from the ninth century suggest that textile imports from India were already very important in Central and East Java at that time (Guy 1998: 59 f.), and it is possible that the Arab traveller Ibn Battuta took *patola* as well as other presents from the Sultan of India (Delhi) to the Chinese court in 1342 (Bühler 1959: 2 ff.).

Scientific investigations of cloths of Indian origin from Indonesia and Timor-Leste confirm this early trade in Indian textiles. We have carbon-14 dating of various, mostly cotton cloths, with patterns using block print or mordant and reserve dye processes, respectively, produced in India that have come to have the status of important heirlooms in Indonesia and Timor-Leste (Barnes et al. 2002: 16 ff.; Khan Majlis 2006: 118; see Fig. 1, p. 10).

The findings substantiate the fact that when Europeans arrived in Southeast Asia, they encountered a flourishing maritime trade in textiles, among which the silk double ikat cloths from Gujarat played an important role. The Dutch in particular recognized the commercial potential of Indian *patola* in the spice trade and estab-



lished their own trading posts, among others in Surat and Ahmedabad (Gujarat). Within a short time the Dutch East India Company VOC nearly managed to monopolize the trade in *patola* between India and the Southeast Asian archipelago (Guy 1998: 87).

The Dutch cleverly used the technically and aesthetically perfect silk *patola* in exchange for trading concessions with local rulers. As rare and unusual goods, they came to be of paramount importance, were regarded as an indication of authority and influence and were claimed as a prerogative by the aristocracy (Guy 1998: 87f.; Barnes et al. 2002: 38). Shipload records of the VOC document this trade, and also document the exclusivity of the silk double ikat cloths. For example, on a typical shipload to Batavia, today's Jakarta, among a thousand textiles from Gujarat only about five were *patola* (ten Hoopen 2014: 15).

Although we know little about the use of *patola* in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, ethnological sources verify their more recent use. In Java the cloths from India were, for instance, made into trousers that only high dignitaries of the sultanates of Yogyakarta and Surakarta had the right to wear. They were also a component of the ceremonial clothing of bride and groom (Dumont 1916: Fig. 7;

Bühler 1959: 4f.). In East Indonesia *patola* have chiefly survived as ritual objects and highly-prized and valuable family heirlooms (Hamilton 1994c: 48f.; Graham 1994: 192). Many of these heirlooms appeared on the international art and antique markets in the second half of the twentieth century; they can be found today in museums or in private collections.

From Sumatra to Timor, the silk double ikat cloths exercised the biggest influence on local textile production. Weavers in nearly all of Indonesia have adopted the motifs and patterns of the highly treasured *patola* and have assimilated them into their own textiles (Bühler 1959; Gittinger 1982; Guy 1998; Barnes et al. 2002; Maxwell 2003; Shah 2005; Crill 2006). Weavers, in particular those from aristocratic families, corroborated with this integration of *patola* patterns the high status and prestige that was connected with these textiles. One pattern especially — called eight-pointed

Ceremonial hanging (*lao sarapika*, Fataluku), detail

With a probability of 94.5% the ceremonial cloth from the estate of the Raja of Los Palos, East Timor, dates back to the time between 1420 and 1530 or between 1560 and 1630. Based on radiocarbon dating the first period seems the more probable. The Portuguese brought it to East Timor from India. Here it was held by the family of the Raja of Los Palos well into the 1980s, before they sold it to a dealer. Produced prob. in southern India, acquired in Los Palos, Lautem District, Timor-Leste; 15th/16th c.; cotton, mordant print and hand painted, indigo, prob. morinda and turmeric; 537 × 81 cm; MKB IIc 21178 (Acquisition 1984)

Fig. 1

flowers, in India *chhabadi bhat*, and in Indonesia frequently *jilamprang*—has spread widely (see Fig. 8, p. 34; for photographic impressions of this classical motif in different regional adaptations see pp. 34–59).

Patola depicting elephants were also popular in Indonesia—the textile producers in Gujarat were adept at adapting their production to the tastes and needs of the target region (Barnes et al. 2002: 38; see Fig. 51, p. 94/95; Fig. 57, p. 103). The motifs and patterns that the *patola* weavers adopted are today a fixed component of the local textile tradition and considered their own patterns. For the weavers, local knowledge of the Indian origin has been superimposed in many places by their own interpretations.

Today there are other things, outside influences as well, that inspire weavers to absorb new patterns and motifs into their repertoires. We regard tourism from the 1970s and 1980s on as an important influence. Weavers had an additional marketing opportunity with the advent of individual tourism in those years, as many travellers took textiles home as souvenirs.

In this regard, a unique development can be observed in the Lio region of Central Flores. A special combination of tourism, the Catholic Church and the creativity of the weavers there has led to the creation of a new type of sarong. Whereas up to the 1980s geometric and floral, and occasionally stylized zoomorphic and anthropomorphic motifs were almost exclusively designed, afterwards the weavers started making pictorial sarongs, called *lawo gamba*. This development was fostered on the one hand by the Catholic Church in the person of Father Piet Petu (de Jong 2011: 64; von Wyss-Giacosa, p. 75). Growing tourism in East Indonesia and the new marketing opportunities connected to it, as well as the creativity and the eagerness to innovate of some master weavers, contributed to the emergence of the *lawo gamba*. Today pictorial sarongs are an integral part of ceremonial garb in the Lio area and are worn proudly (de Jong 2011; see Fig. 38, p. 77; Fig. 89, p. 158; Fig. 91, p. 160).

Different regions take up other outside influences. The Timor-Leste enclave Oecusse is, for example, known for the Portuguese cross-stitch patterns that are frequently adapted in ikat technique on men's cloths (Barrkman 2014a: 17 ff.; see Fig. 6, p. 25; Fig. 84, p. 153; for photographic impressions of contemporary motifs see pp. 142–167).

Globalization

Looking at ikat textiles from East Indonesia and Timor-Leste in connection with globalization, modernity and fashion is unusual, for they are mostly presented as being local, traditional and unfashionable. We shall explain these terms and our *inclusive* view of textiles and their makers. With inclusive we mean that we regard the weavers and their cloths as being similar to urban fabric designers and clothing. That is, as agents and in part influential persons involved in processes of globalization, moder-



nity and fashion. As a rule the terms global-local, modern-traditional, fashionable-unfashionable are thought of as oppositional and separate. We would like to show that in practice they often interpenetrate one another and are to be thought of accordingly. In this way we discover new aspects of textiles and see the weavers in a new light.

Unlike batik from Java, ikat from East Indonesia and Timor-Leste is less known nationally and internationally. One reason for this is that ikat textiles are above all made and used in Nusa Tenggara Timur (NTT),⁵ a province on the periphery, considered to be poor and underdeveloped, whose popula-

tion is even regarded as primitive in the view of the centre — ergo all of their cultural achievements are also of slight interest (de Jong 2006). Something similar can be said about Timor-Leste. Moreover, at the time of the Indonesian occupation (1976–2001), after Portuguese colonial rule and before independence in 2002, the region suffered heavily under armed conflict (Antoulas & Antoulas 2015; McWilliam & Traube 2011).

With the present exhibition and volume we would like to make the wealth of ikat textiles and the weavers who make them visible and tangible by means of textile objects, pictures and stories. We continue the concept of “cloth wealth”, which Annette Weiner developed for fabrics in the Pacific region. It means that giving, selling, keeping and/or wearing certain cloths has important social ramifications and bestows local prestige and power upon the makers (Weiner 1989; de Jong 1998). Furthermore, we would like to convey our conviction that weavers have at their command fascinating craftsmanship and cultural knowledge.

The most qualified among them do not just create handcrafted artefacts, but rather textile objects that because of their technological qualities and their polysemous intentionality are astounding. This makes them art according to Gell (1992; 1996). However, we do not want to gloss over the living conditions of the weavers, but rather to be mindful that they are in part economically and politically precarious and thorny. Craftsmanship takes place within the framework of a global hierarchy of values (Herzfeld 2004), and therefore within the framework of transnational power structures. In this hierarchy of values craftspeople are, as a rule, positioned marginally. At the same time their work and its products are not uncommonly idealized and instrumentalized by the state as a stronghold of tradition.

The production of ikat textiles in NTT and Timor-Leste takes place in the context of global and local processes. Susan Rogers, therefore, named her exhibition of fabrics

Shoulder cloth (*luka kapa*, Lio), detail

The shoulder cloth's ship motif *kapa* is believed to be a reference to the arrival of the people of southern Lio, Central Flores, from overseas, thus indicating early trans-regional migration movements. The long production process from 1967–1997 using natural dyes has produced a dark red hue considered to be outstanding. Anastasia Uta Neta and Petronela Ji'e; Lio, Nggela, Flores, Indonesia; cotton (commercial yarns), warp ikat, indigo, morinda, naphthol (yellow); 182 × 78 cm; de Jong 2007.07.10.1

Fig. 2

from Indonesia and Malaysia "Transnational Ikat: An Asian Textile on the Move" (Rogers 2013). This implies for us that the women with their textile wealth are important players in negotiating and establishing not only local, but also global cultural processes. This is evident with the cloths from Flores depicting ships, which point to earlier migratory and globalization processes, or depicting aeroplanes, which address the travels of tourists and our present globalization (see Fig. 2, p. 12, Fig. 3 and Fig. 94, p. 164/165).

The terms *glocalization* and *translocal culture* have been coined to describe the dynamic intertwining of local and global processes (Robertson 1995; Nederveen Pieterse 1995). Studies on globalization and glocalization in Indonesia and Southeast Asia show that this phenomenon focuses on certain groups, institutions—and things. At the same time "Indonesianization" plays an important role, namely the introduction of politically important Pan-Indonesian elements into the many local cultures, especially since independence in 1945 (Nas 1998; Yamashita 2003).

Although global influences go along with new power structures, quite often with negative consequences for the local populace, they can also unleash creative processes (Friedman 1990). With the producers of ikat textiles, we can see the ambivalence of dependence and inventiveness. This is not a unique regional phenomenon. All over Indonesia and across the centuries, weavers have chosen aspects of outside influences that they have transformed for their own cloths (Maxwell 1990). Sandra Niessen points out that this is primarily materialized by the technical knowledge of the weavers: "Their ability to translate social categories and trends into cloth is key to the viability of the textiles and thus the economic survival of weavers" (Niessen 2003a: 65).

Modernity

Modernity and tradition are ideologically loaded terms, especially in the context of the nation state. How should we use them? Adrian Vickers refers to the contradictions of modern conditions in Bali since the 1930s: "... modernity is a desire for change and the new, a sense of cutting oneself off from any roots or predecessors, and yet it involves turning back to the past, attempting to hold on to it with grim determination, and even to abstract or essentialize elements of the past as history and heritage" (Vickers 1996: 3). The term *moderen* is associated there with Euro-American modernity, but substantially it is related to other attributes. Vickers anticipates the concept



Women's sarong (*lawo kapa*, Lio), detail

The pattern of the central field of this cloth has a geometrical quality to it, like a reinterpretation of a diamond-patterned Indian silk *patola*. Yet, the weavers refer to the cloth as a "ship sarong" (*lawo kapa*) and associate the motif with the migration of their ancestors from overseas. The colours are the result of an initial indigo dye bath followed by further dips in synthetic dyes. Anastasia Bhoe; Lio, Nggela, Flores, Indonesia; 2006; rayon, cotton, warp ikat, indigo, skin of root (*wae*), synthetic dye; 179×78 cm; de Jong 2013.07.15.3

Fig. 3

of multiple modernities, that, namely, according to the formation of institutional and ideological patterns and according to social movements, widely varying forms of modernity are created (Eisenstadt 2000). Accordingly, we proceed from the assumption that NTT and Timor-Leste each has its own modernity. As suggested above, being modern can go hand in hand with being traditional. This consideration can aptly be applied to textiles.

This perspective is scarcely represented in textile research. We assume that it will be important in future, because as a consequence contemporary textile craftsmanship is more likely to be perceived and recognized. The anthropologist Teruo Sekimoto has made a study with a similar perspective on the production of batik in Java (2003). He postulates that tradition is modifiable and a matter of ongoing production. He criticizes in particular the "traditionalistic discourse" on batik, because it stresses the preservation of past tradition but blocks out the varied and interesting contemporary aspects. As a result the makers are conceived as passive and in need of protection, and the existing centres of power with their cultural hegemony are strengthened. He calls for us "... not to look for a preserved cultural asset in a fossilized form but to see the people who engage in batik-making as existing on the periphery of cultural hegemony" (Sekimoto 2003: 112). He further criticizes the fact that modernity in the case of batik is often equated with decline and tradition with blossoming. And yet batik became famous in the twentieth century precisely due to innovations. The fixation of culture and tradition thus marginalizes contemporary forms of expression of this artisanship. This topic has become more and more important since Indonesian batik was included on the World Heritage List in 2009 (Reichle 2012).

With regard to ikat textiles, we start from the premise that tradition is to be construed as a part of modernity and that we cannot simply speak of cultural loss. This opens up a new way of looking at the many innovations today as well as those created in past times as a reaction to different external influences. The result is a demarginalization and increased recognition of the work, the skills and the agency of the weavers. Such recognition could also be an influence on the assessment of their products on the different markets.

In connection with the meaning of textiles as intellectual and cultural property, the term tradition is likewise central. One speaks increasingly of traditional cultural expressions instead of folklore in international documents. Unfortunately, the complexity of this term is not adequately taken into account, and it is politically problematic. One suggestion would be to use, instead of the term tradition, the term *lore* for the informal domains of shared knowledge and ethical practice (Aragon 2014).

The term cultural heritage is similarly problematic, above all since the UNESCO Convention in connection with cultural property in 1970. Nation states or regional political communities often appropriate cultural and artistic products that originate from

shared processes in groups and that—as a utopian alternative—could also be considered as part of a global cultural commons (Geismar 2015; Hauser-Schäublin & Klenke 2010).

Since 2002 various laws and bills regarding intellectual and cultural property have been developed in Indonesia (Lorraine V. Aragon, pp. 168 ff., describes the experiences of weavers in Manggarai, Flores, with the Indonesian copyright law; Monique Bagal and Peter Damary, pp. 184 ff., report on the establishment of a protected geographical indication in Sikka, Flores). The effects are assessed in different ways. With the last two contributions of this volume, we would like to initiate a debate that could have important legal, economic and cultural consequences for future textile production as well as for research, for example, where textile collections are concerned.

Fashion

Textiles are considered today under the aspects of clothing and fashion (Hansen 2004). The following themes are important in the Indonesian context: the historical development of clothing (Schulte Nordholt 1997; Barnes 2005; 2010; 2011), textiles in transition (Hamilton & Barrkman 2014a; Yeager & Jacobson 2002), an explicit focus on the producers (de Jong 1998; 2005; Hamilton 2012; von Wyss-Giacosa 2013) and the young do-it-yourself fashions against the regime of global brands (Luvaas 2013). Because ikat textiles in NTT and Timor-Leste are mostly used as clothing—except when used as elements of decoration—it is essential to consider them under this aspect. Niessen's reflections are helpful here (Niessen 2003a; 2003b).

In the course of the Enlightenment the attire of people in Asian societies was classified as unalterable (Niessen et al. 2003). The Western system of clothing formed the starting point for fashion, "primitive", "tribal" and "rustic" systems of clothing together with Western streetwear anti-fashion (Polhemus & Proctor 1978). At the same time the term fashionization was coined to describe the change from anti-fashion to fashion. In the meantime history and art are considered universal or global, not only Western phenomena. Niessen urges that this view should also be utilized for fashion.

She regards the process of fashionization in a new, inclusive way and in connection with power relationships. She speaks of fashion globalization and fashion colonialism, which include both: the process, through which a form of clothing becomes a fashion; and the process through which it becomes anti-fashion. In the West anti-fashion is produced through the concept of tradition. In Asian contexts, like in Indonesia, the concept of traditional clothing is maintained in connection with national and local costumes. Niessen ascertains that "(...) ironically, the traditional is continually modernized/reinvented/updated so that its meaning remains pertinent to evolving social/historical circumstances" (Niessen 2003b: 257). She finds fault with

the fact that these changes are not made visible conceptually. At the same time a concept of modernity is expressed through fashion, especially through dress codes for civil servants, again with a mixture of Western and indigenous style elements (see Pollock 2012 for NTT).

Two of Niessen's examples can be applied to the conditions in East Indonesia and Timor-Leste. The first example shows how the local system of clothing of the Karo Batak has become more complex through the economic and political changes of colonization and independence: the colour of men's and women's hip cloths changed from blue to red, and Malaysian and European characteristics were adopted. The traditional, often ritual clothing of today is the modern clothing of yesterday. Moreover, different elements are used to constantly redetermine the boundaries between what is traditional and what is modern in the changing social space of the Karo Batak. In Central Flores the ritual shoulder cloth constitutes an important element of an earlier fashion (see Fig. 19, p. 46; Willemijn de Jong, pp. 104 ff., presents a new way of seeing the ritual shoulder cloth *luka semba*).

The second example concerns a Toba Batak group that sees itself as being more modern than others. In the 1980s a women's tube skirt with a shoulder cloth made of fine yarn in vivid synthetic colours was created. In addition, the typical pattern was changed through additional weft decorations. Because the wife of Ex-President Suharto bought such an outfit, this type of garb increased in value and definitively qualified as modern. In Central Flores sarongs with figurative patterns are fashionable today (de Jong 2011; see Fig. 38, p. 77; Fig. 89, p. 158; Fig. 91, p. 160).

In a word, we are tracing global aspects in local ikat textiles in an inclusive way, between the ambivalent poles of wealth and marginalization. We would like to encourage thinking further about these reflections, and thus discovering new facets of this artistic craft and its makers, not least with regard to its contemporary and future expressions.

1 Personal communication 17 June 2015, translation from Indonesian to German by Richard Kunz and to English by the translator.

2 The fact that textile patterns from India reached Indonesia, were adapted there and then made their way to Europe is documented in pattern books of the Glarus textile industry, for example Pattern Number 7064 of the Blumer Company.

3 Duarte Barbosa and Tomé Pires; *Sejarah Melayu*; Memorandum of November 1603 (Rouffaer & Juynboll 1914: 171 and Bijlage III).

4 *Patolu* (singular) and *patola* are the names of silk fabrics with double ikat patterning in Gujarat.

5 The province of NTT encompasses the eastern Lesser Sunda Islands.

Bibliography

- Adams, Marie Jeanne [Monni] 1969. *System and Meaning in East Sumba Textile Design*. New Haven: Yale University Press.
- Allen, Lindy & Louise Hamby 2011. Pathways to Knowledge. Research, Agency and Power Relations in the Context of Collaborations between Museums and Source Communities. In: Sarah Bryne, Anne Clarke, Rodney Harrison & Robin Torrence (eds), *Unpacking the Collection. Networks of Material and Social Agency in the Museum*. New York: Springer Science+Business Media, 209–229.
- Antoulas, Symeon & Marlene Antoulas 2015. *East Timor Through a Selection of Ethnographic Artifacts*. Charleston: SC.
- Appadurai, Arjun (ed.) 1986. *The Social Life of Things. Commodities in Cultural Perspective*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Aragon, Lorraine V. 2014. Law versus Lore. Copyright and Conflicting Claims about Culture and Property in Indonesia. *Anthropology Today* 30(5): 15–19.
- Aragon, Lorraine V. 2012. Copyrighting Culture for the Nation? Intangible Property Nationalism and the Regional Arts of Indonesia. *International Journal of Cultural Property* 19: 269–312.
- Aragon, Lorraine V. 2011. Where Commons Meets Commerce. Circulation and Sequestration Strategies in Indonesian Arts Economies. *Anthropology of Work Review* 32: 63–76.
- Aragon, Lorraine V. & James Leach 2008. Arts and Owners. Intellectual Property Law and the Politics of Scale in Indonesian Arts. *American Ethnologist* 35(4): 607–631.
- Arsac, Jean 1989. *La dentelle du Puy: une tradition*. Paris/Le Puy: Christine Bonneton/Centre d'enseignement de la dentelle au fuseau.
- Bagal, Monique 2015. *Sikka Ikat GI: Industrial Design, or Copyright? Unpublished Paper*.
- Bagal, Monique & Massimo Vittori 2010. Preliminary Report on the Potential for Geographical Indications in Côte d'Ivoire and the Relevant Legal Framework. Unpublished Background Paper.
- Bagal, Monique & Peter Damary 2014. Support the Establishment of a Geographical Indication on Sikka Ikat. Unpublished Mission Report.
- Barnes, Ruth 2011. Past Memories or New Inventions? Textiles in Kedang, Lembata. In: Hans Hägerdal (ed.), *Tradition, Identity, and History-Making in Eastern Indonesia*. Växjö, Kalmar: Linnaeus University Press, 113–129.
- Barnes, Ruth 2010. Introduction: The Study of Indonesian Textiles. Past, Present, and Future. In: Ruth Barnes & Mary Hunt Kahlenberg (eds), *Five Centuries of Indonesian Textiles*. Munich, Berlin, London, New York: Delmonico Books, Prestel, 26–44.
- Barnes, Ruth 2005. Moving between Cultures. Textiles as a Source of Innovation in Kedang, Eastern Indonesia. In: Ruth Barnes (ed.), *Textiles in Indian Ocean Societies*. London, New York: Routledge, 150–162.
- Barnes, Ruth 2002. Textiles for the Trade with Asia. In: Ruth Barnes, Steven Cohen & Rosemary Crill (eds), *Trade, Temple and Court. Indian Textiles from the Tapi Collection*. Mumbai: India Book House, 10–77.
- Barnes, Ruth 1991. Patola in Southern Lembata. In: Gisela Völger & Karin v. Weck (eds), *Indonesian Textiles. Symposium 1985*. Cologne: Ethnologica, 11–17.
- Barnes, Ruth 1989a. *The Ikat Textiles of Lamalera. A Study of an Eastern Indonesian Weaving Tradition*. Leiden: Brill.
- Barnes, Ruth 1989b. The Bridewealth Cloth of Lamalera. In: Mattiebelle Gittenger (ed.), *To Speak with Cloth. Studies in Indonesian Textiles*. Los Angeles: University of California Museum of Cultural History, 43–55.
- Barnes, Ruth, Steven Cohen & Rosemary Crill 2002. *Trade, Temple & Court. Indian Textiles from the Tapi Collection*. Mumbai: India Book House Pvt Ltd.
- Barrkman, Joanna 2014a [3rd ed.]. *A Arte de Futus. Tecelagem Ikat em Timor-Leste. The Art of Futus. Ikat Weaving of Timor-Leste*. Dili: Timor Aid.
- Barrkman, Joanna 2014b. "She Comes with a Spindle in Her Hand": Biboki Textiles. In: Roy W. Hamilton & Joanna Barrkman (eds), *Textiles of Timor: Island in the Woven Sea*. Los Angeles: Fowler Museum at UCLA, 122–135.
- Barrkman, Joanna 2009. *The Art of Futus: From Light to Dark – Arte Futus Nian: Husi Naroman ba Nakukun*. Jakarta: UNESCO.
- Barrkman, Joanna 2007. *Entwined. The Influence of Indian Patola and Trade Cloths on the Ritual Practices and Textile Motifs of the Atoin Meto People of West Timor*. Unpublished MA Thesis. Charles Darwin University.
- Berloquin-Chassany, Pascale 2006. *Créateurs africains de mode vestimentaire et labellisation "ethnique"* (France, Antilles, Afrique de l'Ouest francophone), www.cairn.info/revue-autrepart-2006-2-page-173.htm (accessed 1 December 2015).
- Boateng, Boatema 2011. *The Copyright Thing Doesn't Work Here. Adinkra and Kente Cloth and Intellectual Property in Ghana*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.

- Bresson, Amélie & Deslaeli Putantry 2013. Geographical Indications and Territorial Development: An Analysis of the Code of Practice Implications. Two Case Studies in Indonesia: Sikka Tenun Ikat and Amed Salt. Unpublished Mission Report.
- Brown, Michael F. 2005. Heritage Trouble. Recent Work on the Protection of Intangible Cultural Property. *International Journal of Cultural Property* 12: 40–61.
- Bühler, Alfred 1972. Ikat, Batik, Plangi. Reservemusterungen auf Garn und Stoff aus Vorderasien, Zentralasien, Südosteuropa und Nordafrika. Basel: Pharos-Verlag H. Schwabe.
- Bühler, Alfred 1959. Patola Influences in Southeast Asia. *Journal of Indian Textile History (Ahmedabad)* 4: 4–46.
- Bühler, Alfred 1946. Die Reservemusterungen. Versuch einer zusammenfassenden Betrachtung ihrer Technik, Entstehung und Herkunft. *Acta tropica* 3: 242–271.
- Bühler, Alfred 1943. Materialien zur Kenntnis der Ikat-technik. Definition und Bezeichnungen, Geschichtliches, mechanische Verarbeitung des Garnes. Leiden: E. J. Brill (Internationales Archiv für Ethnographie, Bd. 43, Supplement).
- Bühler, Alfred 1941. Ikatten. Ciba-Rundschau, Basel, Nr. 51 (Jg. 5, September 1941): 1850–1887.
- Bühler, Alfred 1939. Die Herstellung von Ikattüchern auf der Insel Rote. Verhandlungen der Naturforschenden Gesellschaft in Basel, Basel, Bd. 50: 32–97.
- Bühler, Alfred 1937. Malaiischer Archipel. In: Fritz Sarasin (ed.), Bericht über das Basler Museum für Völkerkunde für das Jahr 1936. Basel: Birkhäuser, 13–38.
- Bühler, Alfred 1936. Schlussbericht. Reise nach den Kleinen Sundainseln Timor, Rote und Flores. 27. März–18. Dezember 1935. Unpubliziertes Typoskript Archiv MKB.
- Bühler, Alfred 1935. Tagebuchnotizen. Reise zu den kleinen Sundainseln Timor, Rote und Flores. 27. März–18. Dezember 1935. Unpubliziertes Manuskript Archiv MKB.
- Bühler, Alfred & Eberhard Fischer 1979. The Patola of Gujarat. Double Ikat in India. Basel: Krebs.
- Bühler, Alfred, Urs Ramseyer & Nicole Ramseyer-Gygi 1975. Patola und Geringsing. Zeremonialtücher aus Indien und Indonesien. Basel: Museum für Völkerkunde und Schweizerisches Museum für Volkskunde.
- Bühler-Oppenheim, Kristin & Alfred Bühler 1948. Die Textiliensammlung Fritz Iklé-Huber im Museum für Völkerkunde und Schweizerischen Museum für Volkskunde, Basel: Grundlagen zur Systematik der gesamten textilen Techniken. Zürich: Komm. Verl. Fretz.
- Buschmann, Rainer 2000. Exploring Tensions in Material Culture: Commercialising Ethnography in German New Guinea, 1870–1904. In: Michael O'Hanlon & Robert L. Welsch (eds), *Hunting the Gatherers. Ethnographic Collectors and Agency in Melanesia, 1870s–1930s*. New York: Berghahn Books, 55–79.
- Chakrabarty, Dipesh 2000. *Provincializing Europe*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Conn, Steven 2010. *Do Museums Still Need Objects?* Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.
- Crill, Rosemary (ed.) 2006. *Textiles from India: the Global Trade*. Calcutta: Seagull Books.
- Daston, Lorraine 2000. *Biographies of Scientific Objects*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Davidson, Jamie S. & David Henley (eds) 2007. *The Revival of Tradition in Indonesian Politics. The Deployment of Adat from Colonialism to Indigenism*. London: Routledge.
- de Jong, Willemijn 2016. Rote Fäden in Flores. In: Vanessa von Gliszczynski, Eva Ch. Raabe & Mona Suhrbier (eds), *Der rote Faden. Gedanken Spinnen – Muster Bilden*. Berlin: Kerber Verlag, 50–61.
- de Jong, Willemijn 2016. Red Threads in Flores. In: Vanessa von Gliszczynski, Eva Ch. Raabe & Mona Suhrbier (eds), *The Common Thread. The Warp and Weft of Thinking*. Berlin: Kerber, 50–61.
- de Jong, Willemijn 2015. Luka, Lawo, Ngawu. Kekayaan Kain Tenunan dan Belis di Wilayah Lio, Flores Tengah. Maumere: Penerbit Ledalero.
- de Jong, Willemijn 2011. Kleidung als Kunst. Porträt einer Ikatdesignerin in Ostindonesien. *FKW/Zeitschrift für Geschlechterforschung und visuelle Kultur*, Bd. 52 (Themenheft: Stoffe weben Geschichte(n). *Textile Kunstmateriale im transkulturellen Vergleich*): 55–71.
- de Jong, Willemijn 2006. Die Erfindung der Armut in der indonesischen Provinz. *Transnationale Entwicklungskonzepte und lokale Austauschprozesse*. *Tsantsa* 11: 23–33.
- de Jong, Willemijn 2000. Women's Networks in Cloth Production and Exchange in Flores. In: Juliette Koning et al. (eds), *Women and Households in Indonesia. Cultural Notions and Social Practices*. Surrey: Curzon Press, 264–280.
- de Jong, Willemijn 1998. Geschlechtersymmetrie in einer Brautpreisgesellschaft. *Die Stoffproduzentinnen der Lio in Indonesien*. Berlin: Reimer Verlag.
- de Jong, Willemijn 1995. Cloth as Marriage Gifts. Change in Exchange among the Lio of Flores. *Contact, Crossover, Continuity. Proceedings of the Fourth Biennial Symposium of the Textile Society of America*, Los Angeles, California, 169–180.

- de Jong, Willemijn 1994. Cloth Production and Change in a Lio Village. In: Roy W. Hamilton (ed.), *Gift of the Cotton Maiden. Textiles of Flores and the Solor Islands*. Los Angeles: Fowler Museum of Cultural History, 210–227.
- Dietrich, Stefan 1989. *Kolonialismus und Mission auf Flores*. Ph.D. Thesis. University of Tübingen.
- Drahos, Peter 1996. *A Philosophy of Intellectual Property*. Aldershot: Dartmouth Publishing Co.
- Duggan, Genevieve 2001. *Ikats of Savu: Women Weaving History in Eastern Indonesia*. Bangkok: White Lotus.
- Dumont, Charles F. H. 1916. *Huwelijksgebruiken op Java*. Nederlandsch-Indië, Oud & Nieuw, Amsterdam vol. 1 (1916): 339–356.
- Eisenstadt, Shmuel Noah 2000. Multiple Modernities. *Daedalus* 129: 1–30.
- Erb, Maribeth 2007. Adat Revivalism in Western Flores. Culture, Religion, and Land. In: Jamie S. & David Henley Davidson (eds), *The Revival of Tradition in Indonesian Politics. The Deployment of Adat from Colonialism to Indigenism*. London, New York: Routledge, 247–274.
- Erb, Maribeth 1999. *The Manggaraians*. Singapore: Times Editions.
- Erb, Maribeth 1997. Contested Time and Place. Constructions of History in Todo, Manggarai (West Flores, Indonesia). *Journal of Southeast Asian Studies* 28: 47–77.
- Fabian, Johannes 2014 [1983]. *Time and the Other. How Anthropology Makes its Object*. New York: Columbia University Press.
- Forman, Shepard 1980. Descent, Alliance, and Exchange among the Makassae of East Timor. In: James Fox (ed.), *The Flow of Life. Essays on Eastern Indonesia*. J. Harvard Studies in Cultural Anthropology 2, Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 152–177.
- Forrest, Craig 2010. *International Law and the Protection of Cultural Heritage*. London: Routledge.
- Forshee, Jill 2014. Loss and Return: Personal Stories of Fataluku Weavers. In: Roy W. Hamilton & Joanna Barrkman (eds), *Textiles of Timor. Island in the Woven Sea*. Los Angeles: UCLA Press, 212–229.
- Forshee, Jill 2012. Rambu Pakki and Rambu Tokung. Pau, Sumba, Indonesia. In: Roy W. Hamilton (ed.), *Weavers' Stories from Island Southeast Asia*. Los Angeles: Fowler Museum at UCLA (Fowler Museum Textile Series, no. 10), 36–45.
- Forshee, Jill 2001. *Between the Folds. Stories of Cloth, Lives, and Travel from Sumba*. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press.
- Fox, James 1980. Figure Shark and Pattern Crocodile. The Foundations of the Textile Traditions of Roti and Ndao. In: Mattiebelle Gittinger (ed.), *Indonesian Textiles. Irene Emery Roundtable on Museum Textiles 1979 Proceedings*. Washington: The Textile Museum, 39–55.
- Friedman, Jonathan 1990. Being in the World. Globalization and Localization. In: Mike Featherstone, Scott Lash & Roland Robertson (eds), *Global Modernities*. London: Sage, 311–328.
- Gaudard, Anne 2014. La mode ethnique avance sur les passerelles de la haute couture. *Le Matin Dimanche*, 29 June 2014: 32–33. <http://static1.squarespace.com/static/534e7e6ae4b09568350520f1/t/565458cfe4b08b42d1a74504/1448368335696/Article+Mode+%C3%A9thique+Le+Matin+dimanche.pdf> (accessed 1 December 2015).
- Gavin, Traude 2003. *Iban Ritual Textiles. Verhandelingen van het Koninklijk Instituut voor Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde 205*, Leiden: KITLV Press.
- Gavin, Traude 1996. *The Women's Warpath. Iban Ritual Fabrics from Borneo*. Los Angeles: UCLA Fowler Museum of Cultural History.
- Geertz, Clifford 1973. *The Interpretation of Cultures: Selected Essays*. New York: Basic Books.
- Geirnaert-Martin, Danielle C. 1992. *The Woven Land of Laboya: Socio-cosmic Ideas and Values in West Sumba*. Leiden: Centre of Non-Western Studies, Leiden University.
- Geismar, Haidy 2015. Anthropology and Heritage Regimes. *Annual Review of Anthropology* 44: 71–85.
- Geismar, Haidy 2013. *Treasured Possessions. Indigenous Interventions into Cultural and Intellectual Property*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press.
- Gell, Alfred 1998. *Art and Agency. An Anthropological Theory*. London: Clarendon Press.
- Gell, Alfred 1996. Vogel's Net. Traps as Artworks and Artworks as Traps. In: Alfred Gell 1999, *Art of Anthropology. Essays and Diagrams*. London, Brunswick, NJ.: Athlone, 187–214.
- Gell, Alfred 1992. The Technology of Enchantment and the Enchantment of Technology. In: Jeremy Coote & Anthony Shelton (eds), *Anthropology, Art and Aesthetics*, Oxford: Clarendon, 40–66.
- Gittinger, Mattiebelle 1982. *Master Dyers to the World. Technique and Trade in Early Indian Dyed Cotton Textiles*. Washington: The Textile Museum.
- Gittinger, Mattiebelle 1979. *Splendid Symbols. Textiles and Tradition in Indonesia*. Washington, D.C.: The Textile Museum.
- Glass, Patrick & John Lepel 1986. The Trobriand Code. An Interpretation of Trobriand War Shield Designs. *Anthropos* 81: 47–63.

- Government of India 2004. Chanderi Development Foundation. Chanderi Sarees. Geographical Indications Journal 2: 1–4. <http://ipindia.nic.in/girindia/journal/2.pdf> [accessed 1 December 2015].
- Graham, Penelope 1994. Vouchsafing Fecundity in Eastern Flores. In: Roy W. Hamilton (ed.), *Gift of the Cotton Maiden. Textiles of Flores and the Solor Islands*. Los Angeles: Fowler Museum of Cultural History, 228–245.
- Gunter, Janet 2008. Violence and "Being in History" in East Timor. Local Articulations of Colonial Rebellion. Diss. Lisbon: Instituto Superior de Ciências Trabalho e da Empresa, University Institute.
- Guterres, Justino Maria Aparicio 1997. The Makasae of East Timor. The Structure of an Affinal Alliance System. MA. Thesis. Melbourne: University of Melbourne, Department of History and Philosophy of Science, Anthropology Programme.
- Guy, John 2013. "One Thing Leads to Another". Indian Textiles and the Early Globalization of Style. In: Amalia Peck (ed.), *Interwoven Globe. The Worldwide Textile Trade, 1500–1800*. New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 12–27.
- Guy, John 1998. *Woven Cargoes. Indian Textiles in the East*. London: Thames and Hudson.
- Hahn, Hans Peter 2013. *Ethnologie: eine Einführung*. Berlin: Suhrkamp.
- Halbert, Debora J. 2006. Feminist Interpretations of Intellectual Property. *American University Journal of Gender, Social Policy and the Law* 14(3): 431–460.
- Halbert, Debora J. 2005. *Resisting Intellectual Property*. New York: Routledge.
- Hamby, Louise & Joe Gumbala 2015. Development of Collecting at the Milingimbi Mission. In: Peter G. Toner & Ian Keen (eds), *Strings of Connectedness*. Canberra: ANU Press, 187–214. <http://press.anu.edu.au?p=325141> [accessed 16 December 2015].
- Hamilton, Roy W. 2014. Culture, History, and Weaving in Timor. In: Roy W. Hamilton & Joanna Barrkman (eds), *Textiles of Timor. Islands in the Woven Sea*. Los Angeles: UCLA Press, 19–37.
- Hamilton, Roy W. (ed.) 2012. *Weavers' Stories from Island Southeast Asia*. Los Angeles: Fowler Museum at UCLA (Fowler Museum Textile Series no. 10).
- Hamilton, Roy W. (ed.) 1994a. *Gift of the Cotton Maiden. Textiles of Flores and the Solor Islands*. Los Angeles: Fowler Museum of Cultural History.
- Hamilton, Roy W. 1994b. Behind the Cloth. The History and Culture of Flores. In: Roy W. Hamilton (ed.), *Gift of the Cotton Maiden. Textiles of Flores and the Solor Islands*. Los Angeles: Fowler Museum of Cultural History, 21–38.
- Hamilton, Roy W. 1994c. The Many Roles of Weaving and Textiles. In: Roy W. Hamilton (ed.), *Gift of the Cotton Maiden. Textiles of Flores and the Solor Islands*. Los Angeles: Fowler Museum of Cultural History, 40–57.
- Hamilton, Roy W. 1994d. Ende Regency. In: Roy W. Hamilton (ed.), *Gift of the Cotton Maiden. Textiles of Flores and the Solor Islands*. Los Angeles: Fowler Museum of Cultural History, 123–147.
- Hamilton, Roy W. 1993. Textile Change in 20th Century Ndonga, Flores. In: Marie-Louise Nabholz-Kartaschoff, Ruth Barnes & David J. Stuart-Fox (eds), *Weaving Patterns of Life*. Basel: Museum of Ethnography, 271–285.
- Hamilton, Roy W. & Joanna Barrkman (eds) 2014a. *Textiles of Timor. Island in the Woven Sea*. Los Angeles: UCLA Press.
- Hamilton, Roy W. & Joanna Barrkman 2014b. Textile style areas in Timor. In: Roy W. Hamilton & Joanna Barrkman (eds), *Textiles of Timor. Island in the Woven Sea*. Los Angeles: UCLA Press, 38–87.
- Hansen, Karen Tranberg 2004. The World in Dress. *Anthropological Perspectives on Clothing, Fashion, and Culture. Annual Review of Anthropology* 33: 369–392.
- Hauser-Schäublin, Brigitta & Karin Klenke 2010. Flexibilisierte Kultur zwischen "Tradition, Modernität und Markt": Akteursbezogene Verwendungs- und Bedeutungsvielfalt von "kulturellem Erbe". In: Regina Bendix et al. (eds), *Die Konstituierung von Cultural Property. Göttinger Studien zu Cultural Property Bd. 1*, Göttingen: Unionsverlag, 25–42.
- Hauser-Schäublin, Brigitta, Marie-Louise Nabholz-Kartaschoff & Urs Ramseyer 1991. *Textiles in Bali*. Berkeley, Singapore: Periplus.
- Heine-Geldern, Robert 1937. L'art Préboudhique de la Chine et de l'Asie du Sud-est et son influence en Océanie. *Revue des Arts Asiatiques* XI: 177–206.
- Heppell, Michael 2014. *The Seductive Warp Thread. An Evolutionary History of Ibanic Weaving*. Phillips, ME: Borneo Research Council.
- Herzfeld, Michael 2004. *The Body Impolitic. Artisans and Artifice in the Global Hierarchy of Value*. Chicago, London: University of Chicago Press.
- Hitchcock, Michael 1991. *Indonesian Textiles*. New York: Icon Editions.
- Hoskins, Janet 1996. *Biographical objects. How things tell the stories of people's lives*. London: Routledge.
- Hoskins, Janet 1989. Why Do Ladies Sing the Blues? Indigo Dyeing, Cloth Production, and Gender Symbolism in Kodi. In: Annette B. Weiner & Jane Schneider (eds), *Cloth and Human Experience*. Washington: Smithsonian Institution Press, 141–173.

- Howard, Michael C. 2006. Indonesian Textiles from Dress to Art. In: Michael Leaf (ed.), *Arts, Popular Culture and Social Change in the New Indonesia*. Seminar Proceedings. Vancouver: University of British Columbia, 33–57.
- Howell, Signe 2001. Recontextualizing Tradition: "Religion", "State" and "Tradition" as Coexisting Modes of Sociality among the Northern Lio of Indonesia. In: John Liep (ed.), *Locating Cultural Creativity*. London: Pluto Press, 144–158.
- International Labor Organization 1996. Globalization Changes the Face of Textile, Clothing and Footwear Industries. Press release, ILO/96/33, Geneva. http://www.ilo.org/global/about-the-ilo/media-centre/press-releases/WCMS_008075/lang-en/index.htm [accessed 1 December 2015].
- Iskandar, Sri Sintasari & Benny Gratha 2013. *Mengungkap Pola Nitik Dalam Wastra Batik*. Jakarta: Museum Tekstil.
- Jasper, Johan Ernst & Mas Pirngadie 1912. *De inlandsche kunstnijverheid in Nederlandsch Indië. De Weefkunst*. Den Haag: Mouton.
- Jaszi, Peter 2010. Traditional Culture. A Step Forward for Protection in Indonesia. Ford Foundation-American University, Washington College of Law Research Paper No. 2010-16. http://papers.ssrn.com/sol3/papers.cfm?abstract_id=1617245 [accessed 29 February 2016].
- Jaszi, Peter & Martha Woodmansee 1996. The Ethical Reaches of Authorship. *South Atlantic Quarterly* 94(4): 947–977.
- Jaszi, Peter & Martha Woodmansee 1994. Introduction. In: Martha Woodmansee & Peter Jaszi (eds), *The Construction of Authorship. Textual Appropriation in Law and Literature*. Durham: Duke University Press, 1–13.
- Kadati, Willy & Anne Finch 2014. Textiles of Oecusse. A Personal Account. In: Roy W. Hamilton & Joanna Barrkman (eds), *Textiles of Timor. Island in the Woven Sea*. Los Angeles: UCLA Press, 115–121.
- Khan Majlis, Brigitte 2006. In Quest of Patterns. Notes on a Group of Indian Trade Textiles from the Treasury of the Raja of Los Palos in East Timor. In: Rosemary Crill (ed.), *Textiles from India. The Global Trade*. Calcutta: Seagull Books, 117–134.
- Khan Majlis, Brigitte 1991. *Gewebte Botschaften – Indonesische Traditionen im Wandel/Woven Messages – Indonesian Textile Tradition in Course of Time*. Hildesheim: Roemer-Museum.
- Krone-Germann, Irenka 2013. La mode éthique contre la pauvreté. *La Liberté*, 14 October 2013: 8. www.laboutiquevolante.com/pdf/La_liberte14.10.2013.pdf [accessed 1 December 2015].
- Kunz, Richard 2012. Kulturbeziehungen und Stilprovinzen der Kunst: Expedition Timor, Roti und Flores (Indonesien und Osttimor), 1935, Alfred Bühler. In: Gaby Fierz et al. (eds), *Expeditionen – und die Welt im Gepäck*. Basel: Museum der Kulturen, 16–21.
- Kunz, Richard 2012. Cultural Relations and Style Provinces: Timor, Rote, and Flores (Indonesia and East Timor) Expedition, 1935, Alfred Bühler. In: Gaby Fierz et al. (eds), *Expeditions – the World in a Suitcase*. Basel: Museum der Kulturen, 16–21.
- Kunz, Richard, Wibke Lobo & Wolfgang Stein 2008. Einleitung. In: Richard Kunz & Vibha Joshi (eds), *Naga – eine vergessene Bergregion neu entdeckt*. Basel: Christoph Merian Verlag und Museum der Kulturen, 10–16.
- Kunz, Richard, Wibke Lobo & Wolfgang Stein 2008. Introduction. In: Richard Kunz & Vibha Joshi (eds), *Naga – A Forgotten Mountain Region Rediscovered*. Basel: Christoph Merian Verlag und Museum der Kulturen, 10–16.
- Larsen, Jack Lenor, Alfred Bühler & Bronwen and Garrett Solyom 1976. *The Dyer's Art. Ikat, Batik, Plangi*. New York: van Nostrand Reinhold.
- Latour, Bruno 1996. *Aramis or the Love of Technology*. C. Porter (trans.). Cambridge: Harvard University Press.
- Leach, Edmund 1954. A Trobriand Medusa? *Man* 54: 103–105.
- Lovell, Stanley P. 1963. Deadly Gadgets of the OSS. *Popular Science* 183(1): 56–59, 178–180.
- Luvaas, Brent 2013. Material Interventions. *Indonesian DIY Fashion and the Regime of the Global Brand. Cultural Anthropology* 28(1): 127–143.
- Macpherson, C. B. 1962. *The Political Theory of Possessive Individualism. Hobbes to Locke*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Mauss, Marcel 1923–1924. *Essai sur le don. Forme et raison de l'échange dans les sociétés archaïques*. In: *L'Année Sociologique, seconde série*, 30–186.
- Maxwell, Robyn J. 2003. *Sari to Sarong: Five Hundred Years of Indian and Indonesian Textile Exchange*. Canberra: National Gallery of Australia.
- Maxwell, Robyn J. 1990. *Textiles of Southeast Asia. Tradition, Trade, and Transformation*. Melbourne: Australian National Gallery and Oxford University Press.
- Maxwell, Robyn J. 1980. Textile and Ethnic Configurations in Flores and the Solor Archipelago. In: Matiebelle Gittinger (ed.), *Indonesian Textiles: Irene Emery Roundtable on Museum Textiles*. Washington, 1979 Proceedings: *The Textile Museum*, 141–154.

- M'Closkey, Kathy 1994. (Mis)reading Textiles as Texts. A Critique. In: Lynne Milgram & Penny Van Esterik (eds), *The Transformative Power of Cloth in Southeast Asia*. Toronto: Canadian Council for Southeast Asian Studies, 117–125.
- McWilliam, Andrew & Elizabeth G. Traube (eds) 2011. *Land and Life in Timor-Leste. Ethnographic Essays*, Canberra: ANU Press.
- Merryman, John Henry 1986. Two Ways of Thinking about Cultural Property. *The American Journal of International Law* 80(4): 831–853.
- Nabholz-Kartaschoff, Marie-Louise 2014. Alfred Bühler's Collection from Baguia at the Museum der Kulturen, Basel. In: Roy W. Hamilton & Joanna Barrkman (eds), *Textiles of Timor. Island in the Woven Sea*. Los Angeles: UCLA Press, 197–211.
- Nabholz-Kartaschoff, Marie-Louise 1989. A Sacred Cloth of Rangda. Kamben Cepuk of Bali and Nusa Penida. In: Mattiebelle Gittinger (ed.), *To Speak with Cloth. Studies in Indonesian Textiles*, 181–197.
- Nas, Peter J. M. 1998. Global, National and Local Perspectives. Introduction. *Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde* 154(2): 181–192.
- Nederveen Pieterse, Jan 1995. Globalization as Hybridization. In: Mike Featherstone, Scott Lash & Roland Robertson (eds), *Global Modernities*. London: Sage, 45–68.
- Niessen, Sandra 2003a. Three Scenarios from Batak Clothing History. Designing Participation in the Global Fashion Trajectory. In: Sandra Niessen, Ann Marie Leshkovich & Carla Jones (eds), *Re-Orienting Fashion. The Globalization of Asian Dress*. Oxford, New York: Berg, 49–78.
- Niessen, Sandra 2003b. Afterword: Re-Orienting Fashion Theory. In: Sandra Niessen, Ann Marie Leshkovich & Carla Jones (eds), *Re-Orienting Fashion. The Globalization of Asian Dress*. Oxford, New York: Berg, 243–266.
- Niessen, Sandra, Ann Marie Leshkovich & Carla Jones (eds) 2003. *Re-Orienting Fashion. The Globalization of Asian Dress*. Oxford, New York: Berg.
- O'Hanlon, Michael 1995. Medusa's Art Interpreting Melanesian Shields. In: Andrew Tavarrelli (ed.), *Protection Power and Display. Shields of Island Southeast Asia and Melanesia*. Boston: Boston College Museum of Art, 74–88.
- O'Hanlon, Michael & Robert L. Welsch (eds) 2000. *Hunting the Gatherers. Ethnographic Collectors and Agency in Melanesia, 1870s–1930s*. New York: Berghahn Books.
- Orinbao, P. Sareng [Pater Piet Petu SVD] 1992. *Seni Tenun Suatu Segi Kebudayaan Orang Flores*. Nita, Flores: Seminari Tinggi St. Paulus Ledalero.
- Orinbao, P. Sareng [Pater Piet Petu SVD] 1969. *Nusa Nipa. Nama Pribumi Nusa Flores (Warisan Purba)*. Ende: Nusa Indah.
- Pedersen, Morten Axel 2007. Talismans of Thought. Shamanist Ontologies and Extended Cognition in Northern Mongolia. In: Amiria Henare, Martin Holbraad & Sari Wastell (eds), *Thinking Through Things: Theorising Artefacts Ethnographically*. London, New York: Routledge, 141–165.
- Perlman, Marc 2011. From Folklore to Knowledge in Global Governance. On the Metamorphoses of the Unauthored. In: Martha Woodmansee, Peter Jaszi & Mario Biagioli (eds), *Making and Unmaking Intellectual Property*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 115–132.
- Polhemus, Ted & Lynne Proctor (eds) 1978. *Fashion and Anti-Fashion*. London: Thames & Hudson.
- Pollock, Ian 2012. Ancient Emblems, Modern Cuts. Weaving and the State in Southeastern Indonesia. *Textile Society of America Symposium Proceedings*. Paper 731. <http://digitalcommons.unl.edu/tsaconf/731/> (accessed 28 July 2014).
- Polyvore. Twelfth Street by Cynthia Vincent Shawl Collar Blazer Ikat. http://www.polyvore.com/twelfth_street_cynthia_vincent_shawl/thing?id=64939332 (accessed 1 December 2015).
- Pop, Zita Maria 2012. *La globalisation dans la mode, comment le vêtement local devient un élément global? Résumé de la thèse de doctorat*. Cluj-Napoca: Université d'art et de design.
- Pride, Natali 2002. *Weaving the Country Together. Identities and Traditions in East Timor*. Unpublished Honours Thesis. Sidney: University NSW.
- Proctor, Ann & Sabrina Snow 2007. Travellers' Choice: The Patterns of Flores. *TAASA Review* 16(4): 6–9.
- Reichle, Natasha 2012. Batik. *Spectacular Textiles of Java*. IAS The Newsletter 62: 56.
- Riles, Annelise 2005. A New Agenda for the Cultural Study of Law. Taking on the Technicalities. *Buffalo Law Review* 53(3): 979–1033.
- Robertson, Roland 1995. Glocalization. Time-Space and Homogeneity–Heterogeneity. In: Mike Featherstone, Scott Lash & Roland Robertson (eds), *Global Modernities*. London: Sage, 25–44.
- Rogers, Susan 2013. Transnational Ikat: An Asian Textile on the Move. <http://college.holycross.edu/projects/ikat/> (accessed 28 July 2014).
- Roque, Ricardo 2010. The Unruly Island. Colonialism's Predicament in Late Nineteenth-Century East Timor. In: Center for Portuguese Studies and Culture (ed.), *Parts of Asia*. Dartmouth: University of Massachusetts, 303–330.

- Rouffaer, Gerret Pieter & Hendrik Herman Juynboll 1914. *De Batik-Kunst in Nederlandsch-Indië en Haar Geschiedenis* [mit dt. Übers.]. Utrecht: Oosthoek.
- Sahlins, Marshall 1999. Two or Three Things That I Know about Culture. *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute* (N.S.) 5: 399–421.
- Sarabhai, Mrinalini & Jasleen Dhamija 1988. *Patolas and Resist-Dyed Fabrics of India*. Ahmedabad: Mapin Publishing Pvt. Ltd.
- Sardjono, Agus 2006. Hak Kekayaan Intelektual dan Pengetahuan Tradisional [Intellectual Property Rights and Traditional Knowledge]. Bandung: P.T. Alumni.
- Schulte Nordholt, Henk (ed.) 1997. *Outward Appearances. Dressing State and Society in Indonesia*. Leiden: KITLV Press.
- Seiler-Baldinger, Annemarie 1994. *Textiles: a Classification of Techniques*. Bathurst: Crawford House Press.
- Seiler-Baldinger, Annemarie 1991. *Systematik der textilen Techniken*. Basel: Ethnologisches Seminar der Universität und Museum für Völkerkunde (Basler Beiträge zur Ethnologie, Bd. 32).
- Sekimoto, Teruo 2003. Batik as a Commodity and a Cultural Object. In: Shinji Yamashita & J. S. Easdes (eds), *Globalization in Southeast Asia. Local, National and Transnational Perspectives*. Oxford, New York: Berghahn, 111–125.
- Shah, Deepika 2005. *Masters of the Cloth: Indian Textiles Traded to Distant Shores*. TAPI Collection. New Delhi: Garden Silk Mills Ltd.
- Strathern, Marilyn 1988. *The Gender of the Gift*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Surabaya City Guide 2011. *Pameran Seni Tenun Ikat Dalam Masyarakat Adat Sikka*. Surabaya.
- ten Hoopen, Peter 2014. *Linguagens tecidas: têxteis ikat indonésios da coleção de Peter ten Hoopen*. Woven Languages: Indonesian Ikat Textiles from the Peter ten Hoopen collection. Textos/texts Peter ten Hoopen; editora/editor Dulce Afonso; tradução/translation Anne Henriques. Lisboa: Fundação Oriente Museu.
- Thomas, Nicholas 2013. Introduction. In: Peter Mesenhöller & Oliver Lueb (eds), *Made in Oceania. Tapa – Kunst und Lebenswelten = Tapa – Art and Social Landscapes*. Köln: Rautenstrauch-Joest-Museum, 14–23.
- Tsing, Anna Lowenhaupt 2004. *Friction. An Ethnography of Global Connection*. Princeton, N. J.: Princeton University Press.
- Vandecandelaere, Emilie et al. (eds) 2009. *Linking People, Places and Products. A Guide for Promoting Quality Linked to Geographical Origin and Sustainable Geographical Indications*. United Nations (FAO) and SINGER-GI. <http://www.fao.org/docrep/013/i1760e/i1760e.pdf> (accessed 1 December 2015).
- Vickers, Adrian 1996. *Modernity and Being Modern. An Introduction*. In: Adrian Vickers (ed.), *Being Modern in Bali: Image and Change*. New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Southeast Asia Studies, 1–36.
- von Lewinski, Silke 2008. *Indigenous Heritage and Intellectual Property. Genetic Resources, Traditional Knowledge and Folklore*. 2nd Ed. Alphen aan den Rijn: Kluwer Law International.
- Watters, Kent 1977. Flores. In: Mary Hunt Kahlenberg (ed.), *Textile Traditions of Indonesia*. Los Angeles, 87–93.
- Weiner, Annette B. 1989. Why Cloth? Wealth, Gender, and Power in Oceania. In: Annette B. Weiner & Janet Schneider (eds), *Cloth and Human Experience*. Washington, London: Smithsonian Institution Press, 33–72.
- Woodmansee, Martha & Peter Jaszi (eds) 1994. *The Construction of Authorship. Textual Appropriation in Law and Literature*. Durham: Duke University Press.
- World Intellectual Property Organization (WIPO) 2015a. *Traditional Knowledge*. <http://www.wipo.int/tk/en/tk/> (accessed 1 December 2015).
- World Intellectual Property Organization (WIPO) 2015b. *Indonesia IP Laws and Treaties*. <http://www.wipo.int/wipolex/en/profile.jsp?code=ID> (accessed 1 December 2015).
- Yamashita, Shinji 2003. Introduction. "Glocalizing" Southeast Asia. In: Shinji Yamashita & J. S. Easdes (eds), *Globalization in Southeast Asia. Local, National and Transnational Perspectives*. Oxford, New York: Berghahn, 1–17.
- Yeager, Ruth Marie & Mark Ivan Jacobson 2002. *Textiles of Western Timor. Regional Variations in Historical Perspective*. Bangkok: White Lotus.